

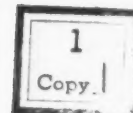
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A NEW AND BROADER INTERPRETATION OF THE
IDEALITY OF AENEAS, Concluded (Hritzu)

DOES *CABALLUS* MEAN 'NAG'? (Moser)

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A NEW AND BROADER INTERPRETATION OF THE IDEALITY OF AENEAS

(Concluded from p. 103)

Among the many admirable qualities found in the character of Aeneas, there are two that are especially worthy of mention. They are virtues that distinguish, in a special manner, the ideality of the new Roman philosophy from that of the old. These are the virtues of humility and compassion. I realize that it seems difficult to find a place for humility among the virtues of the old Roman philosophy, where pride and egoism played such important roles. The virtue of humility, however, is present in the character of Aeneas. It is one of the virtues that hold a prominent place in the philosophical concepts of the new Roman religion. Vergil and his hero are pointing the way to true humility, to the greatest, perhaps, of all Christian virtues. Aeneas, as the founder of the Roman race, is not a proud man. He is submissive to the will of the gods with perfect resignation; he serves the Trojans as their servant and as their suppliant at Dido's palace, at Latinus' city, at the Arcadian camps. In his humility, Aeneas dares to accept the hospitality of the poor surroundings of King Evander's home. He dares to despise wealth and the magnificence of regal splendor, King though he was, and to accept humble surroundings without a murmur. This beautiful expression of humility on the part of Aeneas is said to have touched Fenelon to such a degree that he shed tears on reading the lines.²⁸

The virtue of compassion in the character of Aeneas is often disregarded and ignored on the grounds of a weakness. It requires ideal love and magnanimity to be as compassionate toward one's fellow man as Aeneas was, who wept with the unfortunate, who rejoiced with the fortunate. Aeneas' deep and real compassion and intensive sympathy for those in pain and sorrow are so extensive that they embrace not only those on the

human level but even those below it.²⁹ Anyone who could feel towards animals as Aeneas did must needs have a soul of pity for man.³⁰ A soul of pity is a perfect epithet for Aeneas.³¹ There are so many occasions in the Aeneid where Aeneas gives free vent to his sympathetic feelings that some critics have for that reason called the epic a series of misereres and the saddest poem ever written.³² Tearful is a standing epithet for Aeneas.³³ Tearful, however, is not unmanly, nor is it by any means a defect of character. Even the greatest Master of them all, when informed of the death of his close friend Lazarus, is reported to have wept bitterly. Tearful is the fundamental and real characteristic of this sojourn of ours here on earth.³⁴ This world is, in reality, an exile for us human beings. Vergil recognizes that between man and his final mission there lies an ocean of tears that must be crossed: it is the *lacrimae rerum* of this world; it is the *vallis lacrimarum*³⁵ of the Christian philosophy. Vergil's *lacrimae rerum* is an expression not of sentimentality, but of ontology. With his keenness of mind, Vergil recognizes and states the truth about the structure and the elements of human existence.

It is also worthy of special mention that in Vergil's ideal there is not a single trace of insult to, or defiance of, the gods. It is one of the laws of great art that its greatness is in direct proportion to the worth of its philosophy and of its theology.³⁶

The Aeneid embodies in the person of Aeneas the great ideal which serves as an interpretation of history and of the world in which man finds himself; it gives expression to a pervading human sympathy to which the human mind and heart from one age to another instinctively resound. Such an expression, such an embodiment, meet in their fulfillment the requisites necessary for any and every great epic and hero.³⁷ Poetry is the interpretation of life in its highest terms; and in the Aeneid, Vergil has realized part of the interpretation in presenting the ideality of Aeneas.

Lest I be misunderstood in my analysis of the ideality in the character of Aeneas, I must repeat that I am not claiming for Aeneas perfect ideality. There are degrees of perfection even in ideality. Aeneas was a human being and as a human being he still had weaknesses. In the sphere of the moral and of the spiritual, character is tested in its weakness. Aeneas, too, was tested in his weakness; he was tried but not found completely wanting. Hence it is not at all surprising to find even in the later books of the Aeneid instances where Aeneas weakens and stumbles, morally, under the constant buffetings of the passion and of the fury of war. The few instances in the later books of Aeneas' surrender to a moral weakness do not retard, or detract from, the steady progress of the development of his character to the ultimate level of the relative loftiness that he reached. These instances serve merely as a background of bold relief for the vivid perspective of the lofty excellence of his moral virtues. The sins of Aeneas are as important as his virtues.³⁸ The attainment of the ideal implies a struggle and victory over moral weaknesses. Aeneas does succumb at times to the overwhelming weight of the temptations; but, after each fall he rises again, stronger than before the fall, morally wiser as a result of the bitter taste of the fruit of experience.

The majority of the instances of a surrender to a moral weakness in the latter portion of the Aeneid may be conveniently grouped under the single heading of anger. This weakness is at times accompanied by the expression of angry taunts. This weakness of anger, isolated from its attendant circumstances, can be grossly misjudged. When, however, the weakness is considered in the light of the principle of attendant circumstances, its guilt is, at worst, venial. We must not forget that there is such a thing as justifiable anger. It was not with a smile on His face that the Master drove the money changers from the temple. A moral weakness is a sin only when it becomes an actuality with the full consent of the will, upon full deliberation of the intellect.

In Book Ten, the battle between the Latins and the Trojans is raging fiercely. It is a battle for the survival of ideologies. It is a battle waged between the forces of evil on the one side and the forces of good on the other. It is an all-out battle; life itself is at stake. Enthusiasm must of necessity run high. Aeneas too, as the leader of the forces of good, is caught in the fire of the war's conflagration. Once he is in the battle, he must kill or else be killed. He must kill to save the lives of his men, to save himself, and to fulfill the cause of his divine mission. Aeneas is engaged in a war which is not of his own making. Issues of capital importance are being weighed in the balance. There is

need for heroic exertion of energy and courage. Cool deliberation of the intellect must under such conditions surrender to the warm act of the heart. It is almost impossible to expect the preservation of equilibrium between the intellect and the emotional capacities in war. Aeneas strains every ounce of energy to help save the day and the cause for which he is fighting. He sees one goal, one objective; a goal and an objective that have been set by the gods themselves. Realizing the sacredness of his mission, Aeneas, imbued with the righteous fury of the Master who drove the money changers from the temple drives his enemy from the path of his journey since they are obstacles to the fulfillment of his divine mission. Cool acquiescence in submitting to a moral weakness is one thing; it is quite another matter to commit unwittingly a moral weakness of emotion under the impetus of the stimulus of the ardor of war. It is the exceptional in Aeneas not to be able to control his emotions; one of the fundamental traits of Aeneas' character is that of emotional mastery.³⁹ He is a person of deep meditation and supreme reserve and resolution, not one likely to be swayed by every wind of impulsive and emotional inflation.

Among the many Latins who feel the sting of the strength of the hand of Aeneas there is one certain Magus, who when he realizes the imminency of death implores Aeneas to spare him his life and to return him alive to his son and relatives.⁴⁰ The Trojan king, however, infuriated by the treachery and dishonesty of the false Latins, is unable to check the emotional force of righteous indignation, and as the words and weeping of Magus fall on deaf ears, Aeneas dispatches him to his reward with the fatal thrust of the dagger. In moments of cool deliberation and under different conditions, Aeneas, no doubt, would have displayed the necessary gestures of mercy in sparing the life of Magus; but in war, especially in an ideological war, there is often no opportunity for cool deliberation. In a mortal struggle, the forces of good cannot be merciful to the forces of evil if there is any danger of possible disaster resulting from that act of mercy or charity. Did the Holy Crusaders stay upraised arms in their divine pilgrimage?

As the wars proceed in Book Ten, the heat of the rage and of the ardor of the battle become, naturally, more intensified in degree. With every thrust of the dagger, Aeneas realizes more and more the righteousness of his cause. And in his frenzied zeal he falters and surrenders to the moral weakness of taunting, especially the slain Tarquinius⁴¹ and Lausus.⁴² The guilt of these taunts seems to me to be venial. There is absent almost entirely the tone of sarcasm that is present in the taunts expressed, for instance, by the characters in the Homeric taunt.⁴³ Nowhere in litera-

ture do we find more surcharged feeling than in the Homeric taunt. The taunt in the mouth of Aeneas often brings out the fact that punishment is the logical consequence of guilt. The taunt represents a moral attempt on the part of Vergil, not to condone, but to justify an act which one might be tempted to classify in the light of objective standards, as brutal and murderous. Aeneas never expressed a taunt for its own sake or for the sake of personal gratification of valor. He never spills blood for the sheer sensuous pleasure of spilling blood. Even revenge can be righteous and justifiable, and it can even consecrate the act of homicide, regardless of the external aspects of that act.⁴⁴ Had Aeneas committed his acts of manslaughter in the subtle silence of self gratification, without giving any verbal indication of the effect of the deeds on his own soul, then there might have been some justification for the classification of the acts as sheer brutality. The taunt is Vergil's means of justifying the acts of Aeneas and it enables Aeneas to nullify against himself the charge of primitive brutality.

Book Twelve closes with an effective juxtaposition of an instance of moral strength and one of moral weakness. Turnus has been wounded; he is begging for mercy. Aeneas' battle fever is beginning to calm down into the cool expression of compassion—until he spies on the body of Turnus the belt of Pallas, the son of Evander who had been entrusted to Aeneas for safe keeping. The presence of the belt on the person of Turnus describes more vividly than words the character of Turnus. Is Turnus to be trusted? Shall the cockle of evil be allowed to continue its destruction of the wheat of good? Unbidden, wrath is enkindled within the framework of Aeneas and it reaches such a degree that it stamps out the fostered fire of compassion.

We venture now to express conclusions. The story of Aeneas is the story of an ideal man. To many people the word 'ideal' represents a type, not an individual; for to them it is difficult to associate the ideal with the individual, ideality with reality. Ideality is, in fact, pure reality. It is realism that is repugnant to the ideal. Hence, Aeneas is in every sense of the word an individual and a real man, a man of flesh and blood, not a model of clay and stone; he is not one conceived as a type or force.⁴⁵ It seems difficult to imagine how Vergil would have or could have been able to conceive of a type and not of an individual as his ideal when he was a living member of a century that produced the largest number of probably the greatest individuals that the Roman world had yet seen. It was the golden age of individualism.⁴⁶ It was an age that gave the world such men as Sulla, Pompey, Marius, Caesar, Cicero, and Augustus. Vergil profited from a study of the traits of these men and created his ideal who was to discharge with as much faithfulness and enthusiasm,

but in an idealized way, all of the duties of the *pietas* of the new Roman philosophy.

The character of Aeneas as conceived by Vergil is pivoted in religion; religion is the one sanction of all of his duties. Aeneas is not merely a Roman ideal. His *pietas*, although it is the expression of the best religious feelings of the Romans, extends, nevertheless, beyond the Roman boundaries.⁴⁷ Aeneas is the ideal embodiment of the superimposition upon the old Roman philosophy of the new Roman philosophy, which like that of the Christian *caritas* combines *pietas* (the sense of duty to family, to society, to deity) with *religio* (the feeling of dependence on a higher power and a desire to conform to His will in all the relations of human life).⁴⁸ We moderns find it difficult to interest ourselves in the ideal character of Aeneas. This, no doubt, because the story of Aeneas is the story of an individual, one like ourselves, who by experience is hardened into an ideal character under the stress of perils, moral and material, amid the stormy waves of the sea of life and its temptations. The ideal is so far above us, or rather, as some one has put it, we have placed ourselves so far below and away from the level of the ideal that it seems impossible for us to reach it. Consequently, we consider it as something unreal, something intangible, something unattainable. The ideal assumes the note of the shadowy and it is for that reason that we, like the Renaissance play writers, pay little attention to the ideality of the character of Aeneas. Aeneas becomes in turn by implication a shadowy figure and almost a villain.⁴⁹

Many a Vergilian scholar belonged for a time to this group of critics who could not see any ideal development in the character of Aeneas.⁵⁰ We owe a debt of gratitude to Heinze for having shown to those who would see the ideal development and growth in Aeneas' character. Saint-Beuve, too, was hinting at the same conclusion when he stated that for those who have read the Aeneid there is nothing astonishing in Christianity. Saint-Beuve was correct in his observation, for there is plenty of moral edification in the story of Aeneas. The religion of Vergil has, to a degree very unusual for a Roman, associated itself with morality, especially with social morality.⁵¹

The more often one reads the Aeneid in its entirety, the more firmly convinced must he be that the great epic of Vergil is not merely a local, a Roman epic, not merely an epic of Aeneas and *his* struggles to found *his* city and to fulfill *his* divine mission (although that story in itself should win our admiration), but rather, because of the moral strength depicted therein, it can be deemed, even in its outline of general development, an universal epic of the Iliad and the Odyssey of man, seeking to found the city of God, striving to fulfill his divine mission of the gaining of the kingdom of

heaven and the salvation of his own soul. As we see Aeneas in his pilgrimage, an ordinary but pious man, now discharging dutifully his obligations towards his deities and his fellow men, now despairing, now trembling, now envying those who had died the death of martyrdom before the walls of Troy; as we follow him in his journey through life and observe him in his struggles against temptations; as we watch him grow in stature, strengthen in character after encountering and subduing these very temptations, we must needs own and confess that Vergil has verily portrayed for us in the poetry of his hexameters (the poetic beauty of which has not only been unexcelled but also unapproached) the struggle of man⁵² cast out into this world of ours, into a vale of tears, a fugitive, buffeted in all sides on land and sea by the fury of wrath, jealousy, of envy, enduring all of the hardships until he should reach the Italy of his own mission, until he should see the walls of the city of his salvation completed. 'Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem'; and so great a task it is to realize the salvation of the human soul.

The drama of the Aeneid⁵³ can thus in a sense be called the drama of man.⁵⁴ The epic lends itself wonderfully to a dramatic three-fold division of an introduction, of the complication, and of the denouement or solution. The theme of the drama is the struggle of man to reach his divine destination. This theme is constantly flashed on to the screen of our consciousness as we see Aeneas overcoming one hardship after another on his complicated pilgrimage of the realization of his purpose. 'The Aeneid is truly a dramatized pageant of history with great ancients for its actors and all posterity for its spectators.'⁵⁵

Vergil, the fortunate possessor of a mind of rare genius, produced in the Aeneid a composition of high art, a composition, which like all compositions of high art, presents a broad, all comprehensive portrayal of the life of man⁵⁶ which at some point or other touches the experience of all men. It is truly remarkable that the only book to enjoy the distinction of being second in rank to the Bible should have been not a Christian book (i.e., written by a Christian) but a pagan book, not a Greek book, but Latin, not Plato, but Vergil, not by a philosopher, but by a poet.⁵⁷

I would like to include as a final remark the following eulogistic description of Vergil: 'Thank God for Vergil, the man who had the scholar's humility and patience and the dreamer's vision, who had the courage to know life in its fullness and the mighty heart to comprehend it all; and who, by the fine temper of his own soul, was able to tell its despair, its grandeur, and its piety even to those who live beyond the Pax Romana.'⁵⁸

NOTES

²⁸Haecker 65.

²⁹Aen. 6.309.

³⁰Cf. the opening lines to a prayer to Blessed Martin, the saintly colored Dominican Brother: 'Most humble Martin of Porres, whose burning charity embraced not only thy needy brethren, but also the very animals of the field, splendid example of charity, we hail thee and invoke thee.' (Italics are my own).

³¹In regard to the epithet of 'soul of pity' compare this statement found in Woodberry's article: 'He [Vergil] was a lover of life; only an immense love of life could have so revealed to him the pity of it.'

³²Compare what Mr. Cowles has to say on this subject in his article, The Epic Question in Vergil, CJ 36.133-142.

³³Notice the number of times that Vergil uses the epithet lacrimans in describing the feelings of Aeneas.

³⁴Compare from the article of Woodberry, a statement relative to the idea of tears in Vergil: 'Of all Vergil's loves, the greatest in power is the love of human life; and it is this that makes the poem so Christian-like, because it is embodied and conveyed in the forms of sorrow and especially of bereavement.'

³⁵Compare the beautiful Christian hymn 'Salve Regina' in which the expression vallis lacrimarum appears.

³⁶Haecker 21.

³⁷Mackail 100.

³⁸Henle 39.

³⁹Rand 352.

⁴⁰Aen. 10.521-536.

⁴¹Ibid. 10.557-560.

⁴²Ibid. 10.825-830.

⁴³Keith, A. L., 'The Taunt in Homer and Vergil' CJ 19.554.

⁴⁴Keith 560.

⁴⁵On the question of the individuality of Aeneas, see Fowler, W. W., The Religious Experiences of the Roman People, p. 412 (Macmillan and Co., 1922). Cf. also Fowler, note 15, page 425.

⁴⁶Fowler 411.

⁴⁷DeWitt, N. W., Vergil and Apocalyptic Literature, CJ 13.601: 'The times cannot account for him nor the surroundings explain him.'

⁴⁸Fowler 405.

⁴⁹Rand 250.

⁵⁰It is worth quoting what Fowler has to say on this point: 'It [the development of the character of Aeneas] is not likely to strike us unless we read the whole Aeneid through, without distracting our minds with other reading, and this few of us do. I did it some ten years ago; before, the development of character had not dawned on me fully. I later on found it shortly but clearly set forth in Heinze's Vergils epische Technik, pp. 266 foll.; and this caused me to read the poem through once more, with the result that I have become confirmed in my view.'

⁵¹Rand 371.

⁵²Cf. Garrod in his lectures on Vergil in English Literature and the Classics, 151-152 (Oxford, 1912): 'There emerges an ideal or mystic figure standing outside time and place, that seems to be now Aeneas, now Rome, and now the soul of man setting forth doubtfully on the pilgrimage of a dimly desecrated eternal glory.' (Italics are my own).

⁵³The dramatic qualities of the Aeneid have been carefully and adequately analyzed by several Vergilian scholars. See E. K. Rand, *Vergil and the Drama*, CJ 4.22-23, 51-61, and Norman W. DeWitt, *Vergil and the Tragic Drama*, CJ 26.19-27.

⁵⁴Again I quote Woodberry: 'The modes in which the poem thus affects the reader are infinitely varied; sometimes so intimate as to seem the voice in one's own heart of one's own life, or so lofty and assured as to seem the voice of all men's hearts, or so world-sweeping in its pathos as to seem the voice divine. Unbroken is the sense of the difficulty of life, not merely under its old conception as a warfare, but as a thing of burden, of frequent mistake, of unforeseen and unmerited disaster, of repeated defeat, of uncertain issue.'

⁵⁵Norman W. DeWitt, *The Second Aeneid as a Drama*, CJ 20.482.

⁵⁶Woodberry realizes the importance of the quality of universality in the Aeneid when he says: 'The distinctive feature of the Aeneid is the arc of time it covers, the burden of time it supports.'

⁵⁷Haecker 66.

⁵⁸Mendell, Clarence, 'Vergil's Workmanship,' CJ 34.22.

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DOES 'CABALLUS' MEAN 'NAG'?

The Latin word *caballus* has for a long time been translated as 'nag', and it seems to me that the English word is too glibly or loosely used. It is possible that certain erroneous conceptions concerning *caballus* have arisen as a result of this unconsidered method of translation.

An inspection of Latin dictionaries for meanings of *caballus* shows that the translator may avail himself of such expressions as 'an inferior saddle or pack-horse', 'jade', 'nag', 'pony', and other words, but the majority of these offer a derogatory sense either in size or purpose, and some meanings show inferior physical condition.

On the other hand, dictionaries of the English language define 'nag' as 'a small horse for the saddle' or 'horse in familiar language.' These definitions seem to be universally held. It might also be pointed out here that several of the English-Latin dictionaries translate 'nag' by *mannus* or *equuleus* and not by *caballus* and that the common procedure in translating 'nag' in the modern languages is by the use of a word which denotes smallness or by a more familiar term. There seems to be no indication of an inferior animal, which the contemporary use of 'nag' often implies.

The authorities in philology and the makers of dictionaries derived their interpretations of *caballus* from literary evidence. The lexicographers took their samples from authors read in the schools, that is, authors who

wrote between, say, Lucilius and Martial. We may admit for the sake of argument that the philologists also refer to the classical period for their fundamental meanings, and so we may confine the investigation to the uses of *caballus* in literature up to 100 A.D.

The following is a list of the passages cited in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* in which *caballus* occurs: Lucilius (in Nonius) 86.15; Varro, Sat. Men. 388, 478; Horace, Sat. 1. 6. 59; 1. 6. 103; Epist. 1. 7. 88; 1. 14. 43; 1. 18. 36; Seneca, Epist. Mor. 87. 10; Petronius 117. 12; 134. 2; Persius, Prologue 1; Juvenal 3. 118; 10. 60; 11. 195; Martial 1. 41. 16, 20; 5. 25. 9; 10. 9. 5; 12. 24. 6. The passage from Lucilius: *succussatoris tætri tardique caballi* seems to refer only to a slow or lazy horse.

The two passages from Varro read: 'Another man left his *caballum* tied to the low-hanging branch of a tree', and 'I stayed in camp and took my *caballum* before the censor.' Because of the lack of limiting adjective in both cases I feel that 'horse' would translate both passages adequately.

In Horace, Sat. 1.vi.59 we find: *Satureiano vectari rura caballo*. Horace has been speaking of his first meeting with Maecenas. If Horace had been trying to show off before Maecenas he would hardly have claimed to be using anything but the best type of horse, which never has been called by the word 'nag'.

In line 103 of the same Satire are the words: *plures calones atque caballi pascendi*. This is translated by Wells: 'I should then keep a stable of horses, and grooms for them.' Smart and Nuttall also use 'horses'; Fairclough uses 'ponies'. The sense here would seem to be synonymous with *equus* at its best.

In Epistle 1.vii.88 occurs: *offensus damnis media de nocte caballum arripuit*. . . The tenant, in this case, has suffered severe reverses on his estate and all his livestock has degenerated, so that by the time he is prepared to ride to his patron's house his horse may well have become thin and scrawny or a jade, but there is no definite internal evidence.

Epistle 1.xiv.43 contains one of Horace's proverbs: *optat ephippia bos piger optat arare caballus*. I hesitate to punctuate, because *piger* can apply equally well to either *bos* or *caballus*. Wells' translation reads: 'Thus the slow ox would wear the saddle. . . and the pack-horse plow.' Here the horse would be one that is doing heavy duty and not one that is galloping past bearing a single rider on his back. If the line is punctuated, as in the Oxford text, with a comma after *bos* (thereby throwing the adjective *piger* to *caballus*) we have a lazy horse or a horse so slowed up by his heavy load that he would trade places with the ox. Even so, there is no reason to believe that the horse is a sorry specimen or any other special type. The proverb then re-

solves itself into a repetition of Horace's belief that even as human beings the ordinary ox and the ordinary horse wish to trade places in life.

Epistle 1.xviii.36 reads: ...aut holitoris aget mercede *caballum*. Translated by Wells and Smart: 'or humbly drives a gardener's cart.' In this wise they avoid *caballus* altogether. *Caballus* is used here without any limiting adjective, and so the individual reader must interpret for himself whether sellers of vegetables employ well-kept horses or broken-down horses.

Seneca's eighty-seventh Letter contains: ...Catone uno *caballo* esse contentum et ne toto quidem... Gummere translates the entire section as follows: '...a Cato, to be content with a single nag, and with less than a whole nag at that! For part of the animal was preempted by the baggage that hung down on either flank. Would you not, therefore, prefer Cato's steed (*equus*), that single steed, saddle-worn by Cato himself, to the coxcomb's whole retinue of plump ponies, Spanish cobs, and trotters!' The word *caballus* is translated by 'nag' and in the next sentence, where *equus* refers to the same animal, that which was 'nag' becomes 'steed.'

Petronius offers one use of *caballus*, in 117.12: *Hominis operas locavi, non caballi*. The full translation by Heseltine is: 'You seem to think that I am a beast of burden or a ship for carrying stones,' he cried. 'You paid for the services of a man, not a horse.' Corax, the slave, who is complaining, appears to consider his burden great enough for a strong mule or a river barge and certainly would not be intimating that his load could be handled by anything less than a horse in the best condition.

The close of section 134 of Petronius contains: ...lassus tamquam *caballus* in clivo... The complete context is translated by Heseltine: 'but you were weakly, feeble, tired, and like a cab-horse on a hill, you wasted your effort and sweat.' In this one instance there is a fairly obvious reference to a hard-working horse plodding wearily up-hill under a load. The limiting adjective, if it refers to *caballus*, adds nothing derogatory to the appearance of the horse.

The third Satire of Juvenal contains, in line 118: *ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi*. Translated by Ramsay, in its entire context, as: 'And now that I am speaking of the Greeks, pass on to the schools, and hear of a graver crime; the Stoic who informed against and slew his own young friend and disciple was born on that river bank where the Gorgon's winged steed fell to earth.' The whole Satire is indicative of sarcasm or bitterness on the part of Umbricius with respect to the decadence of men and institutions at Rome, but I fail to see any disrespect in the numerous references to places and incidents connected with myth-

ology. In that event, the speaker is merely referring to definite places by their literary associations, his habit throughout the entire poem, and the use of 'steed' to translate *caballus* is justifiable here, where no derogatory sense is implied.

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We have seen that *caballus* has been translated, in the quotations from classical authors, by every word from 'steed' to 'jade.' I have attempted to show that a study of the twenty uses and their entire context indicates references only to steeds, race-horses, or saddle-horses, and that there is little, if any, derogatory meaning observable in the passages.

Grandgent noted¹ with regard to *caballus* that 'when Latin had two words nearly synonymous, one often crowded out the other.' The passage above from Seneca, in which *caballus* and *equus* refer to the same animal, is a strong support for the contention that the two words were synonymous in classical Latin.

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HThR 38 (1945) 177-93

(Walton)

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them rights of contract, the other required the phrateres to admit orgeones and gennetai. Orgeones were normally Athenian citizens. The surviving records of the groups come from at least a dozen different associations, and range in date from ca. 450 B.C. to ca. 70 B.C. There are two classes: A. Those whose characteristic feature is the cult of heroes or heroines, or both; B. Those with a cult of higher deities, mostly of foreign origin. All of the records are here examined in detail. The associations of class A were generally small; membership was hereditary, and the orgeones were usually, it appears, from closely interrelated families, and were persons of the propertied classes. The chief official was regularly the hestiator, and the sacrifice and feast shared by the families and servants of the members, was the main feature of the reunions. The ritual had no 'chthonic' features (see article by A. D. Nock), and there is no evidence that the hero was considered an ancestor. The associations of class B are later in origin; that of Bendis, the earliest known, dates from the end of the fifth century. In this cult there were, separately organized, both Athenian and alien orgeones; presumably the use of the name was permitted the aliens because they performed public functions. Orgeones of the Mother of the Gods admitted at least a few aliens, and the orgeones of Hagne Aphrodite employed an alien priestess. In the fourth century the citizen orgeones of Bendis opened their membership to all citizens; in contrast, the second century group of Dionysiastai limited membership even more rigidly than did the old heroic orgeones. In general the groups of class B show considerable variety, and the organization tends to be more elaborate. Orgeones, except for those of the Mother of the Gods, drop from sight in Roman times. HThR 37 (1944) 61-140 (Walton)

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HThR 37 (1944) 141-174

(Walton)

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⁵³The dramatic qualities of the Aeneid have been carefully and adequately analyzed by several Vergilian scholars. See E. K. Rand, *Vergil and the Drama*, CJ 4.22-23, 51-61, and Norman W. DeWitt, *Vergil and the Tragic Drama*, CJ 26.19-27.

⁵⁴Again I quote Woodberry: 'The modes in which the poem thus affects the reader are infinitely varied; sometimes so intimate as to seem the voice in one's own heart of one's own life, or so lofty and assured as to seem the voice of all men's hearts, or so world-sweeping in its pathos as to seem the voice divine. Unbroken is the sense of the difficulty of life, not merely under its old conception as a warfare, but as a thing of burden, of frequent mistake, of unforeseen and unmerited disaster, of repeated defeat, of uncertain issue.'

⁵⁵Norman W. DeWitt, *The Second Aeneid as a Drama*, CJ 20.482.

⁵⁶Woodberry realizes the importance of the quality of universality in the Aeneid when he says: 'The distinctive feature of the Aeneid is the arc of time it covers, the burden of time it supports.'

⁵⁷Haecker 66.

⁵⁸Mendell, Clarence, 'Vergil's Workmanship,' CJ 34.22.

JOHN N. HRITZU

COLLEGE OF SAINT TERESA

DOES CABALLUS MEAN 'NAG'?

The Latin word *caballus* has for a long time been translated as 'nag', and it seems to me that the English word is too glibly or loosely used. It is possible that certain erroneous conceptions concerning *caballus* have arisen as a result of this unconsidered method of translation.

An inspection of Latin dictionaries for meanings of *caballus* shows that the translator may avail himself of such expressions as 'an inferior saddle or pack-horse', 'jade', 'nag', 'pony', and other words, but the majority of these offer a derogatory sense either in size or purpose, and some meanings show inferior physical condition.

On the other hand, dictionaries of the English language define 'nag' as 'a small horse for the saddle' or 'horse in familiar language.' These definitions seem to be universally held. It might also be pointed out here that several of the English-Latin dictionaries translate 'nag' by *mannus* or *equuleus* and not by *caballus* and that the common procedure in translating 'nag' in the modern languages is by the use of a word which denotes smallness or by a more familiar term. There seems to be no indication of an inferior animal, which the contemporary use of 'nag' often implies.

The authorities in philology and the makers of dictionaries derived their interpretations of *caballus* from literary evidence. The lexicographers took their samples from authors read in the schools, that is, authors who

wrote between, say, Lucilius and Martial. We may admit for the sake of argument that the philologists also refer to the classical period for their fundamental meanings, and so we may confine the investigation to the uses of *caballus* in literature up to 100 A.D.

The following is a list of the passages cited in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* in which *caballus* occurs: Lucilius (in Nonius) 86.15; Varro, Sat. Men. 388, 478; Horace, Sat. 1. 6. 59; 1. 6. 103; Epist. 1. 7. 88; 1. 14. 43; 1. 18. 36; Seneca, Epist. Mor. 87. 10; Petronius 117. 12; 134. 2; Persius, Prologue 1; Juvenal 3. 118; 10. 60; 11. 195; Martial 1. 41. 16, 20; 5. 25. 9; 10. 9. 5; 12. 24. 6. The passage from Lucilius: *succussatoris tætri tardique caballi* seems to refer only to a slow or lazy horse.

The two passages from Varro read: 'Another man left his *caballum* tied to the low-hanging branch of a tree', and 'I stayed in camp and took my *caballum* before the censor.' Because of the lack of limiting adjective in both cases I feel that 'horse' would translate both passages adequately.

In Horace, Sat. 1.vi.59 we find: *Satureiano vectari rura caballo*. Horace has been speaking of his first meeting with Maecenas. If Horace had been trying to show off before Maecenas he would hardly have claimed to be using anything but the best type of horse, which never has been called by the word 'nag'.

In line 103 of the same Satire are the words: *plures calones atque caballi pascendi*. This is translated by Wells: 'I should then keep a stable of horses, and grooms for them.' Smart and Nuttall also use 'horses'; Fairclough uses 'ponies'. The sense here would seem to be synonymous with *equus* at its best.

In Epistle 1.vii.88 occurs: *offensus damnis media de nocte caballum arripuit*. . . The tenant, in this case, has suffered severe reverses on his estate and all his livestock has degenerated, so that by the time he is prepared to ride to his patron's house his horse may well have become thin and scrawny or a jade, but there is no definite internal evidence.

Epistle 1.xiv.43 contains one of Horace's proverbs: *optat ephippia bos piger optat arare caballus*. I hesitate to punctuate, because *piger* can apply equally well to either *bos* or *caballus*. Wells' translation reads: 'Thus the slow ox would wear the saddle. . . and the pack-horse plow.' Here the horse would be one that is doing heavy duty and not one that is galloping past bearing a single rider on his back. If the line is punctuated, as in the Oxford text, with a comma after *bos* (thereby throwing the adjective *piger* to *caballus*) we have a lazy horse or a horse so slowed up by his heavy load that he would trade places with the ox. Even so, there is no reason to believe that the horse is a sorry specimen or any other special type. The proverb then re-

solves itself into a repetition of Horace's belief that even as human beings the ordinary ox and the ordinary horse wish to trade places in life.

Epistle 1.xviii.36 reads: ...aut holitoris aget mercede *caballum*. Translated by Wells and Smart: 'or humbly drives a gardener's cart.' In this wise they avoid *caballus* altogether. *Caballus* is used here without any limiting adjective, and so the individual reader must interpret for himself whether sellers of vegetables employ well-kept horses or broken-down horses.

Seneca's eighty-seventh Letter contains: ...Catonem uno *caballo* esse contentum et ne toto quidem... Gummere translates the entire section as follows: '...a Cato, to be content with a single nag, and with less than a whole nag at that! For part of the animal was preempted by the baggage that hung down on either flank. Would you not, therefore, prefer Cato's steed (*equus*), that single steed, saddle-worn by Cato himself, to the coxcomb's whole retinue of plump ponies, Spanish cobs, and trotters!' The word *caballus* is translated by 'nag' and in the next sentence, where *equus* refers to the same animal, that which was 'nag' becomes 'steed.'

Petronius offers one use of *caballus*, in 117.12: *Hominis operas locavi, non caballi*. The full translation by Heseltine is: 'You seem to think that I am a beast of burden or a ship for carrying stones,' he cried. 'You paid for the services of a man, not a horse.' Corax, the slave, who is complaining, appears to consider his burden great enough for a strong mule or a river barge and certainly would not be intimating that his load could be handled by anything less than a horse in the best condition.

The close of section 134 of Petronius contains: ...lassus tamquam *caballus* in clivo... The complete context is translated by Heseltine: 'but you were weakly, feeble, tired, and like a cab-horse on a hill, you wasted your effort and sweat.' In this one instance there is a fairly obvious reference to a hard-working horse plodding wearily up-hill under a load. The limiting adjective, if it refers to *caballus*, adds nothing derogatory to the appearance of the horse.

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